

HART-TEETER  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 803 respondents  
Dates: April 3-4, 1995

48 Male  
52 Female  
**[5]**

**FINAL**

Study #4058  
NBC News/WSJ  
April 3-4 1995

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<b>[6]</b>	<b>[8]</b>	<b>[9]</b>	<b>[12]</b>		<b>[13]</b>	<b>[14]</b>
<b>]</b>		<b>]</b>			<b>]</b>	<b>5</b>

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least eighteen years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? **(IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:)** Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? **(IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)**

**(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

**(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)**

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least eighteen years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? **(IF "YES," SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered .....	7	<b>[15]</b>
	5	<b>]</b>
Not registered.....	2	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?<sup>1</sup>

	4/95	3/95	1/95	12/9	11/9/94	10/9	9/94	6/94	12/9	6/93	1/93	5/9	9/9	
Right direction.....	32	32	40	34	37	27	28	32	35	27	47	15	34	<b>[16]</b>
Wrong track.....	50	47	42	47	42	55	57	50	42	56	27	71	48	
Mixed (VOL).....	12	13	12	13	12	14	11	12	16	10	14	9	13	

Not sure..... 6 | 8 6 6 9 4 4 6 7 7 12 5 5

<sup>1</sup> Only selected

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94*</u>	<u>11/4-5/94*</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	
Approve.....	46	44	45	48	43	44	48	44	49	52	57	<b>[17]</b>
Disapprove.....	44	45	43	44	48	44	43	48	44	39	37	
Not sure.....	10	11	12	8	9	12	9	8	7	9	6	
		<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
		55	60	56	47	50	45	41	52	57	51	
		36	31	33	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
		9	9	11	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

4. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu-tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
<b>Bill Clinton<sup>1</sup></b>							<b>[18]</b>
April 1995.....	15	30	18	19	18	-	
March 1995.....	14	31	18	19	17	1	
January 1995.....	15	29	18	20	17	1	
December 1994.....	15	26	19	18	21	1	
October 1994.....	16	26	16	16	25	1	
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-	
July 1994.....	15	28	17	15	24	1	
June 1994.....	17	29	17	16	20	1	
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
<b>Republican Party</b>							<b>[19]</b>
April 1995.....	15	29	25	15	14	2	
January 1995.....	17	33	25	13	9	3	
December 1994.....	17	31	22	14	13	3	
October 1994.....	14	27	26	16	14	3	
June 1994.....	10	27	27	18	14	4	
January 1994.....	12	30	29	16	9	4	
October 1993.....	16	28	27	15	11	3	
October 1992*.....	10	21	19	23	24	3	
October 1991*.....	12	32	21	17	14	4	
October 1990*.....	11	27	24	20	14	4	
<b>Newt Gingrich</b>							<b>[20]</b>
April 1995.....	9	18	20	14	25	14	
March 1995.....	10	17	17	17	24	15	
January 1995.....	9	19	20	13	18	21	
December 1994.....	6	13	17	13	19	32	
October 1994.....	3	8	14	7	9	59	
October 1990*.....	1	8	10	6	6	69	
4. (cont'd)	Very	Somewhat	Neu-	Somewhat	Very	Don't Know	

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>trial</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>Democratic Party</b>							<b>[21]</b>
April 1995.....	9	26	29	21	13	2	
January 1995.....	11	27	27	19	13	3	
December 1994.....	10	23	25	24	16	2	
October 1994.....	13	23	25	20	17	2	
June 1994.....	12	29	25	19	12	3	
January 1994.....	11	29	29	17	11	3	
October 1993.....	11	25	26	20	15	3	
October 1992*.....	19	29	22	15	12	3	
October 1991*.....	12	25	24	21	13	5	
October 1990*.....	12	27	30	19	8	4	
<b>Bob Dole<sup>1</sup></b>							<b>[22]</b>
April 1995.....	11	30	24	16	9	10	
March 1995.....	17	34	21	11	9	8	
January 1995.....	13	29	23	15	9	11	
December 1994.....	16	31	21	14	10	8	
October 1994.....	11	25	23	14	16	11	
September 1994.....	14	24	24	13	12	13	
July 1994.....	12	25	22	15	14	12	
June 1994.....	11	26	26	12	12	13	
January 1994.....	13	29	21	14	9	14	
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14	

<sup>1</sup> Only selected months of

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	
Approve.....	42	41	31	27	23	28	34	32	31	33	<b>[23]</b>
Disapprove.....	44	46	48	63	67	64	52	56	58	54	<b>1</b>
Not sure.....	14	13	21	10	10	8	14	12	11	13	
	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91*</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
	30	29	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	
	56	60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	
	14	11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

5b. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Newt Gingrich is doing as speaker of the House of Representatives?

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	
Approve.....	40	37	32	<b>[24]</b>
Disapprove.....	41	43	26	<b>1</b>
Not sure.....	19	20	42	

**ROTATE ORDER OF Q.6a AND Q.6b ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW**

- 6a. Do you think Bill Clinton has been too inflexible in dealing with the Republican Congress, has been too quick to give in to the Republican Congress, or has struck the right balance in dealing with the Republican Congress?

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95*</u>	
Too inflexible.....	24	23	17	<b>[25]</b>
Too quick to give in.....	29	23	20	
Right balance.....	34	38	55	
Not sure.....	13	16	8	

- 6b. Do you think the Republican Congress has been too inflexible in dealing with President Clinton, has been too quick to give in to President Clinton, or has struck the right balance in dealing with President Clinton?

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95*</u>	
Too inflexible.....	46	43	47	<b>[26]</b>
Too quick to give in.....	12	9	4	
Right balance.....	31	35	43	
Not sure.....	11	13	6	

7. I'd like to read you a list of eight possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for Congress to address. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS.)**

A school prayer amendment.....	18	<b>[27]</b>
Reducing the budget deficit.....	54	
A capital gains tax cut.....	9	
Funding for Star Wars.....	2	
Repealing the ban on assault weapons.....	12	
Affirmative action .....	10	
Cutting federal spending.....	35	
A middle class tax cut.....	37	
All equally important (VOL).....	-	
None is important (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	-	

- 8a. Do you think the Republican Congress has mostly brought the right kind of change to the country, mostly brought the wrong kind of change, or has not really brought much change either way?

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>1/95*</u>	
Has brought right kind of change .....	26	37	<b>[28]</b>
Has brought wrong kind of change .....	12	11	
Has not brought much change either way.....	58	44	
Not sure.....	4	8	

- 8b. Overall, how would you describe the Republican Congress' effect on the country so far--very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative?

Very positive.....	9	<b>[29]</b>
Somewhat positive .....	4	
	8	
Somewhat negative.....	2	
	8	
Very negative.....	8	
Neutral/both (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	2	

- 8c. And compared to when the Republicans first gained control of Congress, would you say you have become more hopeful or become more concerned about their effect on the country?

More hopeful.....	4	<b>[30]</b>
	2	
More concerned.....	5	
	2	
Both (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

- 9a. From what you know, do you agree or disagree with most of what the Republicans in Congress are proposing to do?

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
Agree.....	46	45	49	41	<b>[31]</b>
Disagree.....	39	35	22	28	
Both/mixed (VOL).....	8	10	9	6	
Not sure.....	7	10	20	25	

- 9b. Which concerns you more--**(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)** that the Republicans in Congress will be prevented from making the kinds of changes they are proposing, or that the Republicans in Congress will go too far and make changes that are bad for the country?

Will be prevented from making change .....	3	<b>[32]</b>
	3	
Will go too far.....	6	
	0	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

- 9c. Which do you think is the better description of the Democrats in Congress--they are a responsible opposition who fight for their own point of view, or they are obstructionists who just oppose the Republicans for political reasons?

Responsible opposition.....	4	<b>[33]</b>
	8	
Obstructionists.....	4	
	0	
Some of both (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	6	

- 10a. As you may know, Republican candidates for Congress endorsed a common agenda, called the "Contract with America." Before I just mentioned it, had you heard or read about this? **(IF YES:)** Have you heard a great deal, a fair amount, just some, or not that much about the Republican contract? **(IF NOT SURE HOW MUCH HAVE HEARD, CODE AS "NOT THAT MUCH.")**

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
<b><u>Have Heard About Contract</u></b>					<b>[34]</b>
A great deal.....	20	11	8	3	
Fair amount.....	18	17	12	7	
Just some.....	10	14	12	9	
Not that much.....	10	13	12	8	
Not sure.....	NA	NA	NA	1	
<b><u>Have Not Heard About Contract. .</u></b>	41	44	55	71	
<b><u>Not Sure If Have Heard About</u></b>	1	1	1	1	
<b><u>Contract.....</u></b>					

- 10b. In your view, are the Republicans in Congress generally succeeding or not succeeding in keeping the promises they made during the 1994 campaign?

Succeeding in keeping promises.....	4	<b>[35]</b>
	3	
Not succeeding in keeping promises.....	3	
	8	
Some of both (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

- 10c. Which one of the following do you think has been the biggest accomplishment of the House of Representatives so far this year? **(READ ITEMS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Generally improving the image of Congress.	7	<b>[36]</b>
Approving the presidential line-item veto.....	2	
	0	
Passing legislation against unfunded mandates.....	7	
Approving new product liability laws.....	4	
Passing the balanced budget amendment....	1	
	8	
Passing welfare reform.....	2	
	9	
Other (VOL).....	1	
None (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	





**ROTATE ORDER OF Q.11a AND Q.11b ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW**

- 11a. I am going to read some things that the Republicans in Congress say they are doing. Please tell me which one or two, if any, you think are the best things about the Republican Congress. **(READ ALL ITEMS SLOWLY. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

They are changing the way things are done in Congress .....	1	<b>[37]</b>
	8	
They are cutting wasteful government spending .....	3	>
	5	
They are reducing taxes.....	1	
	4	
They are cutting back on excessive government regulation .....	1	
	7	
They are transferring federal programs to the state level.....	3	
	9	
None of these (VOL).....	9	
All equal (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

- 11b. I am going to read some criticisms that Democrats make about the Republicans in Congress. Please tell me which one or two, if any, concern you the most about the Republican Congress. **(READ ALL ITEMS SLOWLY. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

They are not bringing the change they promised.....	1	<b>[38]</b>
	2	
They are cutting protections for consumers and the environment.....	1	>
	7	
They are too tough on poor families and children.....	3	
	2	
They often make extreme proposals.....	1	
	5	
They are siding with business and the wealthy over average people.....	4	
	4	
None of these (VOL).....	1	
	1	
All equal (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	4	

- 12a. Now I'm going to mention several proposals made by the Republicans and being considered by Congress. For each one, please tell me if you feel this is a step in the right direction or a step in the wrong direction. First, **(READ ITEM)**--is this a step in the right direction or the wrong direction?

**(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	<u>Right</u> <u>Directio</u> <u>n</u>	<u>Wrong</u> <u>Directio</u> <u>n</u>	Neither Right Or Wrong (VOL)	Not Sur e	
<b>Cutting the national service program, which gives stipends and college tuition credits to young people in public-service jobs</b>					<b>[39]</b>
April 1995.....	35	57	2	6	
March 1995*.....	36	52	3	9	
<b>Making unwed mothers under the age of 18 ineligible for welfare</b>					<b>[40]</b>
April 1995.....	54	38	3	5	
<b>Establishing a six-month moratorium on new federal regulations affecting business and local government</b>					<b>[41]</b>
April 1995.....	60	18	3	19	
March 1995.....	45	22	5	28	
<b>Giving the president a line-item veto</b>					<b>[42]</b>
April 1995.....	65	20	2	13	
<b>Replacing the school lunch program and other federal nutrition programs with block grants to the states</b>					<b>[43]</b>
April 1995.....	41	51	2	6	
<b>Cutting spending for public television and public radio</b>					<b>[44]</b>
April 1995.....	37	57	3	3	

- 12b. If Congress reduces spending on some programs this year, should these savings mainly be used to reduce the deficit, to lower taxes, or to increase funding for other programs?

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
Reduce the deficit.....	53	53	<b>[45]</b>
Lower taxes.....	26	26	
Increase funding for other programs	17	15	
Combination (VOL).....	2	2	
Not sure.....	2	4	

- 12c. Now I am going to describe two proposed sets of tax cuts, and I would like you to tell me which one, if either, you prefer.

Proposal A includes a five-hundred-dollar per child tax credit for families earning up to two hundred thousand dollars per year, a fifty percent reduction in the capital gains tax, and reductions in corporate income taxes, but would require large spending cuts to avoid increasing the deficit.

Proposal B is a smaller set of tax cuts that includes a five-hundred-dollar per child tax credit for families making up to seventy-five thousand dollars a year and tax deductions for college tuition costs, and would require smaller spending cuts to avoid increasing the deficit.

Do you prefer Proposal A or Proposal B, or do you favor neither proposal?

Proposal A.....	1	<b>[46]</b>
	4	
Proposal B.....	6	
	7	
Neither Proposal A or B.....	1	
	6	
Both equal (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	2	

- 12d. Last year, Congress banned the sale and manufacture of assault weapons. In your view, should Congress keep or end this ban?

Keep the ban on assault weapons.....	7	<b>[47]</b>
	6	
End the ban on assault weapons.....	2	
	0	
Not sure.....	4	

13. For each of the following goals, please tell me how much it will concern you if Congress is unable to accomplish this--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or not at all. First, **(READ ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)**, will it concern you a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or not at all?

	Concer n A Great Deal	Concern Quite A Bit	Concer n Just Some	Not Concer n At All	Not Sure	
If Congress does not reform health care.....	36	22	25	16	1	<b>[48]</b>
						<b>]</b>
If Congress does not pass a balanced budget amendment.....	29	26	31	12	2	<b>[49]</b>
						<b>]</b>
If Congress does not cut taxes on the middle class.....	36	23	25	15	1	<b>[50]</b>
						<b>]</b>
If Congress does not reform the welfare system.....	46	24	19	9	2	<b>[51]</b>
						<b>]</b>
If Congress does not limit the terms for members of Congress.....	24	17	30	28	1	<b>[52]</b>
						<b>]</b>
If Congress does not make real progress in reducing the budget deficit.....	47	24	23	6	-	<b>[53]</b>
						<b>]</b>
If Congress does not raise the minimum wage.....	30	18	30	21	1	<b>[54]</b>
						<b>]</b>

**FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

- F1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

**(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

**(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	<b>{202}</b>
	4	
Not very strong Democrat.....	1	
	4	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	9	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not very strong Republican.....	1	
	2	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	4	
Other.....	6	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	5	<b>{201}</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	5	
Moderate.....	2	
	8	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	3	
Very conservative.....	1	
	1	
Views cannot be described in those	1	
terms.....	5	
Not sure.....	3	

- F3. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	7	<b>{204}</b>
	0			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	6	
	0			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	6	
	3			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	6	

40-44.....	3		
	1	65 and over.....	18
	0	Refused.....	1

F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	<b>{203}</b>
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	3	
	4	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	9	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	1	
	6	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	7	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

F5. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	6	<b>{216}</b>
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

F6. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	<b>{214}</b>
Black.....	12	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	